



# A CRITICAL STUDY OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CREED AND EDUCATIONAL IDEAS OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

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## INTRODUCTION

"Great men are not all alike. Some of them are great because of the environment that shapes them and imprints itself on them and makes them its symbols, others are great because they are all that their environment is in them and burst forth from them. Some great men are made by the ages in which they live, others make the age what it is<sup>1</sup>".

Jayaprakash Narayan was one such great man, who was shaped by his time and has also left his imprints on it. As a political leader, social and moral crusader he attracted attention rather early and lived through a life full of challenges, strifes and struggles. His was really an eventful life. After Gandhi, Azad, Patel, Nehru, there is perhaps no one among our leaders of the freedom struggle so stately, so towering, so complingly attractive as Jayaprakash Narayan.

Earlier his Parvodaya Movement and later his Janata Party movement, which culminated in the establishment of the Janata Govt. at the Centre and in some states as well, won him national and international fame and acclaim. He lived and thrived in controversies, commanded respect and adoration of friends, and attracted compelling attention

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1. Abid Husain; The way of Gandhi and Nehru, Asia Publishing House, 1959, P. 1.

of his foes and adversaries. He became a legend in his life time. He rode his age age admirably and befitted the Indian social situation comfortably. How could he become and do all this? The answer is, perhaps, to be found in the circumstances he found himself in.

Late 19th and early 20th century was a period when drastic changes in the social, political, economic and religious fields took place through different cultural revolutions and the two world wars. In such environment and universal values, the philosophical doctrines and all the socio-political trends appeared melting and evaporating in the Crucible of confusion. Chaos and disaster have changed man's capabilities of thinking and reasoning to such an extent that no philosophy of pure thought and reason can now easily put together the disturbed pans on the balanced fulcrum of humanity.

In the dramatic setting Jayaprakash Narayan's philosophy is nothing but a true depiction of humanism with different shades and hues of religion.

Jayaprakash focussed his search - light of thought to unearth the faith of humanistic philosophy and tried to reconstruct the pattern of education in such a way as to enable it to develop respect, love of consideration, tolerance, cooperation, selflessness for one's fellow beings. The purpose being to change the Indian society into a

peaceful and congenial atmosphere where all may flourish and achieve their aspirations. Being an educationist in the broad sense of the term, he called forth education for the rescue of men stranded in the confused world of wars, hatred, destruction, and tension. Jayaprakash appeared as an embodied protest against all those thoughts, programmes and practices of education which changed human beings into ego - centred and narrow - minded entities of the world.

Purpose of the Study and Statement of the problem:

The present study aims at "A Critical Study of the Socio-political Creed and the Educational Ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan". Jayaprakash Narayan was a typical representative his times and climes. His socio-political creed has largely been shaped by the socio-political and economic conditions of India of his times. His educational ideas have similarly been shaped by the educational situation as it was then prevailing in India. Any systematic study of Jayaprakash Narayan's socio-political creed and Educational Ideas would, therefore, be quite worthwhile. For it would throw light on an important segment of Indian history. It would also give a peep into the working of the mind of a person who has been hailed by millions as the second Gandhi and has dominated the Indian political scene for decades.

It is the feeling of the present investigator that while much attention has been paid to Jayaprakash Narayan

as a political agitator, his educational ideas, based as they are on his socio-political creed, have largely remained neglected. The present investigator, therefore, thought it worthwhile to undertake this study of J.P.'s socio-political creed and Educational Ideas, as an humble effort on his part toward an understanding of a critical phase in the history of post-independence India. It is worthwhile for one more reason, Lok - Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan was a legendary figure and his socio-political creed and educational ideas, if properly worked out and systematically presented, can inspire confidence and provide guidance at a time when we need them most. The present study, limited in scope as it is, can not serve the purpose well. But it may stimulate some one more qualified and resourceful to undertake a more thoroughgoing study of the subject which the present study has, at least, only initiated if that happens, the labourers of the present investigator would have been suitably rewarded.

B. Plan of the study: The study has the following sections and chapters; 1. Introduction 2. Jayaprakash Narayan and his family background 3. Jayaprakash Narayan's socio-political creed, 4. Jayaprakash Narayan's Educational ideas. 5. Conclusions 6. Selected Bibliography.

C. Source of Data: The following sources have been used in the data - collecting.

1. Original works of Jayaprakash Narayan
2. Relevant critical literature on him.

D. Method of Study: A critical, interpretative and evaluative study of the selected original works and critical literature available on the subject of the study has been made.



## CHAPTER - I

(A) JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN: Family Background

Jayaprakash Narayan was born in the early hours of October 11, 1902, near the village of Sitabdiara 50 miles from the capital of Bihar. His mother's name was Phul Rani Devi's and he was the fourth child delivered by her. His father, Harsu Dayal liked him more than his other children and used to say that his son would become a great man Someday.

He belonged to a Kayastha family of Bihar famous for its achievements and accomplishments in different fields. The Kayasthas formed a progressive, enlightened and forward-looking community of Hindus which has already made a name for itself through its achievements in the fields like law, medicine, teaching and administration.

Harsu Dayal's first son was admitted to the Govt. high school at Chapra of Saran district. But he soon died of cholera. After this, Phul Rani became very anxious about her next child named as Chandarbhanu. But unfortunately after some years plague broke out in Sitabdiara and Chandarbhanu also died of it, leaving her parent sad and gloomy.

After losing their two children Jayaprakash Narayan's parents lived in constant fear of losing their other children also. For this great anxiety and also love and affection for Jayaprakash Narayan, his mother became over careful and

indulgent and kept him very close to herself, never allowing him to venture out. As a result of this Jayaprakash Narayan became quiet and shy.

Harsu Dayal was fond of hunting but he never took Jayaprakash with him. Soon his father moved to Canal construction work and Jayaprakash Narayan was left to the care of his step - grand mother who took all his responsibilities, especially about his education. One of the teacher named as "Aditya Mishra" always taught Jayaprakash Narayan. Jayaprakash Narayan's elder sister too lived with his father, away from him and so there was not much contact between the brother and the sister.

His family always attend religious meetings like Holi, Durga, Puja and New Years. But his father never took part in such ceremonies. His parents were gentle, kindhearted and people of great courage and conviction. Floods destroyed his family property four times after short intervals and each time his father and grandfather rebuilt it.

From his early childhood Jayaprakash showed the marks of a budding revolutionary, a fearless and uncompromising soul. He was a man of great integrity, mental as well as moral selfishness in all its forms and degrees was held in the utmost contempt by him.

"He possessed an immense ability to influence others through a combination personal fearlessness, physical and moral daring, scrupulous intellectual honesty and a love for his fellow countryman which extended to the whole human family.

Jayaprakash Narayan got married, at a comparatively young age, with prabhavati who herself was then only of 14 years. The marriage deeply influenced his personal and political life in many ways. Prabhavati had had the good fortune of staying with Gandhiji for quite some years and this experience later proved to be of immense help to Jayaprakash. Prabhavati, through this initiation to Gandhiji's, ways of thinking got matured, sufficiently and proved to be a natural companion to Jayaprakash in his later ventures and struggles.

On 6th April 1930 after the dramatically symbolic build up of the Dandi salt march. Gandhi, Nehru, Jayaprakash Narayan and hundreds of Congress workers were arrested and sent to jail where some of them were even brutally beaten. Jayaprakash Narayan's mother could not bear the news of brutality and succumbed to the shock.

Jayaprakash Narayan was very much different from other politicians of the day. He the sense of social justice was too much in him. He was deadly against landlordism and wanted equitable distribution of land in the tillers. Discrimination on any grounds whatsoever was just intolerable to him.

Through uncompromising and revolutionary in his socio-political views, he was a very mild-mannered, soft-spoken and considerable to his friends and foes alike. A large number of people used to visit him and he always looked

forward to discussing with them the long-term problems and implications, his movements for social reform and justice. Among his valued visitors were educationists, economists, sociologists, lawyers and others.

Even Jayaprakash Narayan was quite a puritan in his views about man and society. The thing he was most antagonistic to in his friends, even the ones who taught him communism at Wisconsin and Chicago, was their lack of morality, their lack of care for their families, their sex morality.

Jayaprakash Narayan was the child of his own circumstances of birth and upbringing. Unlike some of his contemporary greatmen, like Nehru and others, he was not born with a silver spoon in his mouth. He had seen poverty, dirt and filth, squalor and apathy, cruelties and inhumanities around him from an early age. He had also suffered personal tragedies. All this steeled his spirit but more than that it kindled in him a desire, a passion, for changing all this for the better. Thus his socialism came as an outgrowth of his own feelings, sufferings, and compassions, it was not something imposed on him from without. It was this socialistic zeal and favour which made and kept him restless, moving, striving, throughout his life.

## B. Jayaprakash Narayan's Education

"From numericals, multiplication tables, Hindustani alphabet and the reading of myths and legends at home, Jayaprakash Narayan moved on to the village primary school when he was about six years of age. The family paid fees for him right through the upper primary school, there was no government school in his village<sup>2</sup>.

When Jayaprakash Narayan was nine years old. He left the village and was admitted to the seventh class of the collegiate school at Patna. Jayaprakash Narayan reached there by bullock cart with the help of his grandfather. He got all the facilities from his elder brother who was an assistant in the office of the high court at Patna.

Jayaprakash Narayan was always serious and he always thought that after the death of his elder brother all responsibilities for the family rested on him. Jayaprakash Narayan spent most of his time in reading novels and other historic materials.

He stayed in Patna and had little contact with his parents. He was always found to be studious and sensitive. He reached the final class in the year 1918, and appeared at the state public, matriculation examination at the close of the academic year. He got district merit scholarship at Patna College.

While he was busy with his studies the political situation

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2. Ibid P.27.

prevailing in the nine provinces exercised a profound influence on him, and he declared himself a nationalist and a crusader in the cause of his country. He took even a bold step when he boycotted the classes which were going to held on Raksha Bandhan day.

In America he was admitted into the second year getting a year<sup>3</sup> credit for his Indian Intermediate Science Degree. His main subjects were mathematics, Chemical Engineering and Biology, for his initial interest lay in science. He got straight A<sup>3</sup> in all subjects, except in practicals when he found it hard to follow the American ascent<sup>3</sup>.

His family was too poor to maintain him but Jayaprakash Narayan had thought to go America especially California, at first Jayaprakash Narayan went to Calcutta in Western Clothes at the age of 19 with Rs. 20,000 gifted by his own as well as his wife's family and started for California<sup>4</sup>.

In his spare time Jayaprakash set type for a publication providing information for Indian students. He had few other interests and was still a serious, ascetic young man. All the same he had adopted himself without stress to American conditions<sup>3</sup>.

When he reached marysville he started for reaching a cheap hotel and after some hours, he found a cheap hotel. For the first day he set around the shops of the few Indian

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3. Ajit Bhattacharjee; Jayaprakash Narayan  
A Political Biography. Vikas publishing House, Pvt. Ltd.,  
1972, P. 35.

4. Ibid P. 35

merchants, one of the merchant asked him if you are a student and looking for employment and he asked several introductory questions from Jayaprakash Narayan. After this he gave his own introduction and told that his name was Sher Khan and asked him to bring his luggage from the hotel.

Sher Khan took him some miles out of Marysville to the first ranch of C.B. Harber near Yuba City and showed him his living quarters, a long wooden shed completely empty of furniture. In the morning Jayaprakash Narayan began his work of setting out grapes to dry in the sun to be made into rasin in the factory on the ranch. His Pathan friends helped him unsparingly through his first few days.

On Sunday he went to Marysville to look around the shops and saw his first silent movie. After one month the job was completed and he returned to Berkeley and started searching for job but he was unable to get any job. In Berkeley he lived in a rented room, and started working in restaurants and taking odd jobs. On Sundays he managed to eke out two months of waiting and his first term as a science student at the University of California, which ended in May.

The students, he came into contact belonged to a cosmopolitan club. Still subject to loneliness and insecurities Jayaprakash Narayan formed a very close friendship with Avron Landy, a graduate assistant in the German Department of the University<sup>5</sup>.

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5. Ibid P. 55

By now the American ascent was no obstacle and he had no difficulty in keeping pace with the lectures.

Attendance was a problem there especially in Winter and he was always late in the class. But this made no difference as he continued to get straight "A"'s in all subjects, but was short of attendance in German.

He came in contact with marx, who had a lot of work in Sociology. Jayaprakash Narayan selected university of Wisconsin because it was very much reputed in United States.

As an extension to the reading for his courses, he went regularly with Landy to the study evenings by the cells of the communist party which existed among the students in the university. This groups not only provided him with intellectual stimulation and keen discussions but also with a sense of belonging. It offered him sympathy for the lack of money, and as an outpost of an international movement aimed at removing the inequalities of Wealth from all human societies.<sup>6</sup>

He became known and admired on the Iowa campus for his penetrating intellect. But though he had many companions, he had few friends. Essentially he was still a serious, single minded young man in his early twenties.

Jayaprakash Narayan stayed for seven years in America. He wrote to Bishweshwar that he was studying sociology.

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6. Ibid P. 56



He wrote to Prabhavati that he had received an invitation to study in Soviet Union and so he requested her to accompany him but Prabhavati again refused to go with him.

After completing a year's study, he felt the need to move on in quest of money and a more stimulating environment. So much of the next three years were spent in Chicago, where work was more readily available, and in the politically aware and attractive atmosphere of the university of Wisconsin at Madison<sup>7</sup>.

Jayaprakash Narayan's stay in Chicago, on off, for three years, would leave an indelible mark on Jayaprakash Narayan personality. He worked on all kinds of jobs - Shovelling snow, clearing hotel bathrooms, turning out nuts and bolts in one factory, Packaging Pottery in another.

After some months, Landy suggested Jayaprakash Narayan go with him to Columbus. Instead of returning home, Jayaprakash applied for a post graduate scholarship and he got the scholarship.

Meanwhile, he had given up science and taken up sociology and economics inkeeping with his new interest in man's evolution and the economic bases of society.

The subject of his thesis for his post graduation degree was "Societal Variation". Jayaprakash also applied to the Foundation for Moral Leadership in New York City for a student fellowship<sup>8</sup>.

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7. Ibid P. 36

8. Ibid P. 63

Jayaprakash Narayan had just decided to go in for a Ph.D. when he heard that his mother was seriously ill. He promptly gave up his studies and spent a month in New York trying to earn enough to pay his fare to London.

Jayaprakash Narayan returned from America to India believing that the Central problem of human society was inequality of wealth, rank, culture and opportunity.

Thus, Jayaprakash Narayan's stay and education in America, especially his study of sociology and his friendship and discussions with Communist minded students, developed in him a social awareness of an abiding nature.

CHAPTER IISOCIAL CREED OF JAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN

(A) Jayaprakash Narayan struggle for freedom:-

Jayaprakash Narayan returned to India after being seven years abroad, still a serious, single minded man. Except for academic and political influences, he had packed up little from his stay in America though he had sipped drink a few times and smoked a cigarette or two, he was basically abstemious.

He came in close contact with Gandhiji because his wife Prabhavati had stayed in his Ashram. Nehru was then the Congress president and he made Jayaprakash Narayan in charge of the labour research department of All India Congress Committee. Later on Jayaprakash Narayan was appointed as general secretary of the Congress. After sometime, the top most leaders of Congress were arrested and sent to the Nasik prison. Jayaprakash Narayan thought that it was nice to organise a socialist party which would function within the framework of nationalist movement on the path of struggle.

It was January 1934, when he took part in his first relief operation to help victims of the disastrous Bihar Earthquake. In 1942 after escaping from Hazaribagh Jail, he organised an armed guerrilla Campaign against the British Colonial regime that made him as instant hero of every student frustrated by mahatma Gandhi's insistence on non-violence. He was re-arrested but when he emerged from prison on the eve of Independence, it was Gandhiji who suggested to appoint Jayaprakash Narayan as president of the Congress party.

"After Independence, Jayaprakash Narayan soon came to feel that what India needed was total revolution. His called strikes a responsive chord in the hearts of many who feel a genuine concern for the Country's future. But the mechanics he had in mind and the strategy he had adopted left even some of his admirers cold"<sup>1</sup>.

He had first toured the country to establish the Congress sociolst party - a group formed with some of young minds - Ram Manohar Lohia, Ashok Mehta, Yusuf Mehrally, Achyat Patwardhan. It was an outstanding group, responding with intelligence, sensitivity and knowledge of political development.

He was an ardent nationalist and he learned about the revolutionery cult from noble leaders of Bengal at that time. He kept himself away from the CPI and joined the ranks of the soldiers of freedom. The Congress socialist party played a notable part in giving shape to the socio- economic content of Congress policy and a hard edge to the struggle for freedom.

Jayaprakash Narayan's differences of opinion and approach with Gandhiji, made him all the more worthy of Mahatamas affection as a young firebrand. His courage of conviction organising efforts, status in the Congress Committee and his closeness to Gandhi won him an outstanding position among his contemporaries.

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1. T.K. MAHADEVAN, Jayaprakash Narayan and the future of Indian democrecy, East-West press Pvt. Ltd., New Delhi, Madras (1919) P. 1.

He toured the length and breadth of Bihar in the early fifties to Campaign Unsuccessfully for the candidates put up by a separate socialist party formed when he and his colleagues found it impossible to function within the Congress after Independence. This marked an unsuccessful laid to emerge as the top ranking politician leader. However, despite the breach, he was regarded as the next would be prime-minister and was even invited by Nehru to join the Central Cabinet.

Later, having become completely disillusioned by the ways of the power hungry politicians, he finally left party politics to plunge into the bhoodan (voluntary land - sharing) movement sponsored by Acharya Vinoba Bhave, widely accepted as Gandhi's" spiritual heir. The social moralist in Jayaprakash Narayan found in Bhoodan Movement a cause and mission to uphold.

Vinoba Bhave had emphasized the spiritual aspect of Mahatma's legacy, depending exclusively on persuasion, rejecting any form of Coercion. Jayaprakash Narayan had worked out an entire technique based on sharing and self-regulating village units. He always explained what the sarvodaya disinterest in party politics meant.

"Vinoba Bhave's own efforts - he had walked thousands of miles to propagate his doctrines - had evoked a fair degree of response from landowners, especially in areas threatened by violence"<sup>2</sup>.

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2. Ibid. P. 5

Jayaprakash Narayan believed in peaceful means for noble ends. He was thus closer to Gandhiji as far as the principle of purity of means is concerned. But unlike Gandhiji he did not completely rule out violent methods, in extreme situations. He laid stress on peaceful means, with the implication that if peaceful demonstrators were provoked by violence to react violently, the movement need not be called off - as Gandhi had done in 1922 when 22 policemen were killed by a mob in a remote U.P. village, Chauri Chaura.

"Jayaprakash Narayan decided to go round the country. He came in touch with many people. Someone informed the police that he was travelling by train from Delhi to Rawalpindi by frontier Mail to contact pathan insurgents of 19th September 1943. One English and two Indian police officers entered his compartments and arrested him at revolver point. He was released after ten months"<sup>3</sup>.

Suffice it to note that by the time he was released from prison in 1946, about a year after the release of other top leaders, he had become a great mass figure and had taken his seat in the pantheon of national heroes like Mahatma Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Subhash Chandra Bose.

When Jayaprakash Narayan emerged from Agra Central Jail on 11th April 1946, his popularity was second only to Jawahar Lal Nehru and was even higher than him among students. The British Cabinet Mission had arrived in India on 23 March, 18 days before Jayaprakash Narayan's release. After his,

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3. Ibid. P. 8

release from Jail when he was returning he met with the Mission. He also met the top Congress leaders like Azad, Nehru and Patel.

In November 1946, Jayaprakash Narayan saw that Hindu Muslim riots have started in his own state and even in Bengal because of a conspiracy between the Muslim league<sup>and</sup> the British government. This saddened him greatly. He, therefore, warned against making the mistakes of social democracy in Europe which had allowed capitalism and constitutionalism. He advised the socialist party to adhere steadfastly to the path of revolution. He saw no conflict between democracy and revolution.

On 14th and 15th August the British was converted into two dominions - Pakistan and India. In those days Jayaprakash Narayan spent most of his time touring the country.

**(B) Jayaprakash Narayan's Ideas about Socialism and Sarvodaya:-**

Jayaprakash Narayan was an ardent nationalist and revolutionary to the core. The extra - territorial conceptions of communist party in India, therefore came as a rude shock to him and appeared to be a perverted application of Marxism to the Indian situation. It became clear to him that the socialist movement in India could not be carried on under the leadership of the Indian Communist party.

The result of this thinking on Jayaprakash Narayan's part shared by a substantial number of congressmen including such a senior leader as Acharya Narendra Deva resulted in

the foundation of the congress socialist party in 1934, with Jayaprakash Narayan as its General Secretary. Jayaprakash Narayan's view came to be regarded as the only correct application of marxism to the Indian situation and the approach of the communists were generally regarded as unsuited to the Indian Conditions. Jayaprakash Narayan advocated that " Socialism is a system of social reconstruction and not a code of personal conduct; no group of idealists can build up socialism unless they have power in their hands; only a socialist party in power can establish<sup>4</sup> a socialist society.

The socialist party aspired for two things (1) gaining sufficient support to be able to deal with the opposition and (2) removal of inequality of wealth. It was thought that if inequalities have to be removed, the remedy is to establish the private ownership of the whole community. Jayaprakash Narayan thought that no political philosophy was nobler and greater than man himself political philosophy means providing the environment and to achieve highest mobility.

Socialism means different things to different persons. To Jayaprakash Narayan, socialism meant a form of society in which the material needs of every individual are satisfied and also in which the individual is a cultured and civilised, free and brave, kind and generous being. He was absolutely clear in his mind that these ideals can never be attained without a strict adherence to certain human values.

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4. Bimla Prasad; Socialism Sarvodaya and democracy. Asia Publishing House. P. 12.



### India and Socialism:-

Jayaprakash Narayan realized that it is not easy to establish socialism in India for her traditions are quite different from those of European countries. India is industrially very backward and there are all kinds of divides - religions, cultural, linguistic, etc. However, had there been a socialist party in power it would have been much easier to work for the establishment of a Socialist society.

During the Civil disobedience movements Jayaprakash Narayan had seen poor peasants and workers losing their everything while the rich saved their properties by paying penalties to the alien government.

For building a socialist society in India, Jayaprakash Narayan chalked out an elaborate plan and programme for the Congress socialist party. This included transfer of all power to the producing masses, development of the economic life of the country to be planned and controlled by the state, socialisation of key and principal industries, banks, insurance and public utilities, state control over, all the means of production, distribution and exchange, foreign trade, organisation of cooperatives for production and distribution, encouragement and promotion of cooperative and collective forming by the state. There was to be no discrimination on grounds like caste, community and sex.

With these objectives incorporated and well defined in the programme of the Socialist party its membership was then made open to the communists also. For Jayaprakash Narayan,

though disillusioned by the Indian Communists in some respects, had still faith in the fundamentals of Marxism. He tried to justify whatever he said or did by referring to the writings of marx. Though not abandoning Marxism altogether, he stopped describing his own philosophy as a brand of marxism as he had done in the thirties. He now preferred to call it Democratic Socialism.

While Marx had made a strong impression on Jayaprakash Narayan, Gandhiji's influence was also quite pronounced. As ozer put it "I had a feeling that he was profoundly aware of and understood marxism".

As far marxism, he points out that it is a science of society and a scientific method of social change and as such there can be no room for any dogmatism or fundamentalism in it.

Jayaprakash Narayan advocated "Community Ownership" of the means of production and exchange as the socialist solution to the problem of inequality. He repeatedly told mass meetings of trade unionists in Indian cities to abolish private ownership of the means of production and to establish over then the ownership of the whole community, socialism, he thought is an inevitable reaction to the capitalist system.

Jayaprakash Narayan's final break with marxism came during a self - purification fast, lasting twenty one days at Poona in 1952. Jayaprakash Narayan emphatically repudiated the Marxian view that through democratic methods one can proceed only to some extent, but at the last stage

violence would be necessary in order to complete the socialist revolution. His democratic socialism was found to be more suited to the Indian situation than the revolutionary as violent socialism of the marxists.

"Jayaprakash Narayan does not mean only parliamentary or constitutional methods but also includes in the mass - movements and actions of a non - violent character, which are constitutional yet peaceful"<sup>5</sup>.

As Jayaprakash Narayan puts it "Socialism wishes to destroy classes by making one class victorious over the other - which seems to be somewhat illogical. Gandhism wishes to abolish classes by so bringing the classes together that there are no class distinction left".

#### From Socialism to Sarvodaya:-

As far as socialism is concerned Jayaprakash Narayan regrets that "I did not reach this point in many life's journey while Gandhiji was still in our midst. However, he is persuaded that unless socialism is transformed into Sarvodaya, those goals which would remain beyond its reach and just as we had to taste the ashes of independence. So future generations may have to taste the ashes of socialism.

Sarvodaya is "People's socialism" whether every socialist agrees or not with Sarvodaya he should agree that the more of people's or voluntary socialism and the loss of state - enforced socialism the fuller and more real the socialism.

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5. Ibid. P. 158

Jayaprakash Narayan believed that some of the good social points identified by Western Thinkers - like self-government, self-management, mutual cooperation and sharing, equality, freedom brotherhood - could be practically developed for better if man lived in small communities instead of large states.

(C) Jayaprakash Narayan and Social Movements:-

1. Jayaprakash Narayan and the Quit-India movements:-

There came a time when the Congress party got riven by differences over the strategy to adopt towards 2nd world war. There also came, as a disturbing the separatist Movement of the Muslim league. Mr. Jinnah seized the opportunity provided by the resignation of the Congress ministries in the provinces to move closer to the viceroy.

"Jayaprakash Narayan thought that solution for these problems was mass revolutionary struggle"<sup>6</sup>. He was back in Hazaribagh Jail, after the closure of Deoli, when the AICC passed the Quit-India resolution in Bombay on 8th August 1942. The resolution sanctioned a mass struggle on non-violent lines, on the widest possible scale, Gandhiji who had coined the slogan "Quit India" also described the movement as "Unarmed revolt" and "Open rebellion". Early next morning "Gandhiji and all the Congress leaders assembled in Bombay, including the

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6. Ibid. P. 72

party president Azad and Nehru, were rounded up and despatched to jail.

Jayaprakash Narayan could not be among the arrested leaders as he was already in jail and he escaped from jail, the movement had already passed its peak and was crushed except in some remote pockets.

Jayaprakash Narayan was very outspoken on the sensitive issue of violence versus non-violence "I should have no hesitation in admitting", he wrote, "that non-violence of the brave, of practised on a sufficiently large - scale would make violence unnecessary, but where such non-violence is absent. I should not allow cowardice clothed in shastric subtleties to block the development of this resolution and lead to its failure.

## 2. Jayaprakash Narayan's Movement against the Congress Government:-

Jayaprakash Narayan launched in the last phase of his life and political career a protest movement against the government headed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi. "The best interpretation that could be given to such a protest movement is that it was an attempt to provide form and organisation to the pent up feelings of the people against the wrongs and misdeals of the Government of the day"<sup>7</sup>.

Jayaprakash Narayan had come to fully feel the deep dissatisfaction prevailing amongst the people owing to

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7. Ibid. P. 81

shortages of essential commodities, high prices, growing unemployment and their own incapacity or inability to do anything to help themselves. He was greatly moved by the sufferings of the people and tried to help them in his own ways.

Jayaprakash Narayan's movement had another aspect. In his statement of 19th November 1974, he accepted Mrs. Indira Gandhi's challenge to decide the issue at the general elections of 1977. Being confident of the mass appeal, he relied on methods of mass - action which he thought would force the state to accept his demands.

He sensed quite correctly that the frustrated people were in a furious mood and wanted a change in the Government at long last. Any viable alternative, could, therefore, be acceptable to them.

This is exactly what happened after the promulgation of emergency in June 1975. In view of the passing of the 38th, 39th, 41st or 42nd constitution Amendent Acts during the emergency, and the harsh measures taken by the Government to touch targets of population control, a Socio-political climate had been created in which it became easier for Jayaprakash Narayan and other leaders of the Janta party to carry on their political campaign for a change of Government. The result was the crushing defeat of the Congress Government and coming to power of the Janata Government in 1977. That was also the crowing point of Jayaprakash popularity as a mass - leader. He made for himself a place in the minds and hearts of

the people as the "Lok-Nayak" - the people's Hero. That also marked the fulfilment of his life's ambition and dream. He became the second Gandhi, riding the crust of public esteem and adoration.

But soon all this collapsed. The Janata Government could not perform the miracles expected of it - It could not fulfill the promises it had fed the frustrated people on. Soon there was around disillusionment and dis<sup>en</sup>chantment. Jayaprakash himself became physically very ill and the internal squabbles and infightings in the Janata party made his soul even sicker. Ultimately he could not suffer it anymore and quietly passed away, more disillusioned than satisfied.

CHAPTER IIIJAYAPRAKASH NARAYAN'S EDUCATIONAL IDEAS

Jayaprakash Narayan's life was a chequered one. He was many things put in one - a revolutionary, a political agitator, a democrat, an idealist, a visionary and sage. He was a very warm and intensive personality. His multi-dimensional being was characterised by qualities which included an intense devotion to whatever causes he took up, courage and fearlessness, independent mindedness, radicalism in thoughts, and absence of narrow personal ambitions.

He dominated and influenced the Indian scene both before and after Independence in a number of ways. His socio-political and educational ideas made him a fairly popular figure even in the midst of his peers.

After India became free, he started taking active interest and playing his rightful role in the socio-political, economic and educational reconstruction of the country. Being an nationalist and a rationalist to the core, he always placed the interests of the country above everything else and also advocated adoption of rational and scientific methods for serving those interests.

Jayaprakash Narayan was not an educationist in any technical sense of the term. But like very great wedded to the cause of humanity, he pinned his faith on education. His notions about education can be gleaned from his writings



and statements and given a systematic presentation.

(A) Aims of Education:-

To, Jayaprakash Narayan, the aim of education was not so much to impart knowledge and give training as to produce better human beings. This is easy said than done. Jayapakash Narayan was quite conscious that it was very difficult task and that there was no such system of education prevalent anywhere in the world, which could easily do that. He realized that though much work had been done to know and change man's environment but so little to understand and change man himself. The prevailing environment was considered unreal, whose understanding and transformation were necessary but only to satisfy man's physical needs. The satisfying of his other needs required something more, higher and nobler. It required inculcation and promotion of values, which alone can transform man and make him better.

In the past few years, some attempts had been done in the eastern and western countries to build a bridge between the inner and the outer knowledge Jayaprakash Narayan favoured the making of similar attempts in India as well. He favoured a scientific and a moral education go hand in hand in order to achieve a synthesis of understanding which could cut across the dualism of body and soul. He thought that it was such kind of an education that would deny neither the material nor the spiritual and would truly result into their unity.

Jayaprakash Narayan thought that education might be able to perform its true functions of making both man and his environment, so that the outward and inward activities of man might come to be correlated and oriented to a common goal. For instance, the science of engineering, business or politics have no inner relationship with other sciences, especially the moral sciences. They serve the material side but leave the spiritual side barren.

The state of educated opinion in this country is such that any practitioner of politics who attempts to follow the dictates of his spiritual education would be considered impractical and unfit for the profession<sup>1</sup>.

Jayaprakash Narayan firmly believed that an immoral application of science would materially and not only morally harm the society or group indulging in it. Thus even science needs morality. He also thought that it is not possible to predict the future in a scientific manner.

In the absence of such unitive knowledge and education, the young man and woman who have just completed their formal education, can not make much headway in life. Nor can they enjoy their lives the way they should. Science without morality becomes blind as morality without science becomes lame.

.In Jayaprakash Narayan's own words:- "I can prove it according to the accepted methods of science, I am sure you

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1. Brahamanand; Towards total revolution, Jayaprakash Narayan India and her problems, popular prakashan, Bombay Year 1978, P. 33

will be a better and more efficient economist, lawyer, doctor, engineer, civil servant, teacher, politicians or anything else you are going to practice in your public life the same morality you may accept for your private long period of time<sup>2</sup>.

He stressed that "If you get such an amalgamaled education then you will have not only contributed much more to the social good then you would have also have benefited personally as you would be happier and more at peace with yourself, sound in body and mind. In the long run and your children will also be better materially". Jayaprakash Narayan emphasized man does not live only to eat but has also finer and deeper hungers to satisfy. So try to integrate your outward life with the inner, so it becomes fuller and meaningful to you as well as to those among whom you live to work. In the course of your life you will face grave problems and you may find yourself torn between contrary pulls. You do not have to go far to seek guidance at such moment of trial and anxiety. There is within each of you a small still voice attracting yourself inward, be calm and carefully listen to that voice, no one else can be a better guide.

He lamented that in our country, a large part of the resources of science have not been used to satisfy the imperative social needs. As Gandhiji points out "I am not against electrification and industry but I want electricity in every village home in my country. I do not want the

concentration of industrial power and the use of electricity only to serve the needs of the rich and the giant industrialists.

Jayaprakash Narayan wished that education especially the science education should reach the rural areas and illumine the minds and hearts of the villagers. Science education in the elementary schools should be taken as an educational resource. It should be given a central place in the curriculum of the children. Scientific knowledge and scientific method fulfil many social roles. Today's agriculture, preservation of food, cooking and social habits, the home and hygiene have all become integral to rural development.

The most important index of our determination to provide democracy and development in the country would be to ensure that relevant and useful science is brought to every village and every household in our country.

The greatest tribute which India as a nation can pay to Lok Nayak Jayaprakash Narayan will be the harnessing of our tremendous scientific potentials and manpower for the social and economic development and advancement of rural India.

Apart from scientific education, the other aspect of education which Jayaprakash Narayan emphasised no less was the social education. He thought that the social aim of education takes into consideration the social needs of society. Education is provided with a view to making new members of society familiar with social traditions, manners and customs.

etc. He emphasized the social aim over the individual aim of education. In his scheme of things, society gets greater importance and the individual becomes of secondary importance. In countries where socialistic governments are functioning there is greater emphasises on the social aim of education.

Jayaprakash Narayan attached paramount importance to freedom in all matters of education. He believed that it is only in an atmosphere of freedom that one can think boldly and discover something entirely new. He was, however, not in favour of unbridled freedom. For, he thought, there is too much of risk involved in it.

We know very well that there cannot be a society without individuals and at the same time individuals cannot survive without social security. Thus the social aspect of education Conserves the useful traditions and values of a society. and the emphasis on the development of an individual permits progress in various fields of life.

Jayaprakash Narayan's emphasis on the scientific moral and social aspects of education and has strong plea for extending education to the rural areas of the country, shows clearly how alive he was to the social situation as it was developing after Independence.

#### (B) Curriculum:-

Like the aims and objective of education, Jayaprakash Narayan's concept of curriculum too, is modernistic and quite

in tune with the needs of the country.

In olden days curriculum had a concept of its own. It did not have the outlook that it has assumed today. It was synonymous with the courses of studies and the information that the students had to acquire given below an idea of the old concept.

"The old conception of curriculum was to consider curriculum as merely synonymous with courses of study, suggesting only the medium of factual knowledge, which the different subjects sought to give. Its nature was obviously sketchy and it was characterised by verbalism".

Jayaprakash Narayan thought that curriculum consists of the totality of experiences that the pupil receives through the many fold activities that go in the school - in the class - room library, laboratories, workshops and playgrounds and in the numerous contacts between the teachers and the pupils. He stressed that the curriculum should be constructed keeping in view the different needs and requirement of the pupil. It should therefore, have sound philosophical, psychological, social and scientific bases.

Jayaprakash Narayan had come to feel that there are various defects in our curriculum that it is narrow theoretical and bookish. And there is lack of provision for technical and vocational education. He, therefore, advocated that it should be made more experience - centred, practical and pragmatic. It must also satisfy the technical and vocational needs and aspirations of the pupils and the country. Thus, his views, on curriculum sound quite modernistic and realistic.

(C) Methods of Education:-

Though not being an educationist in the narrow and technical sense of the term. Jayaprakash Narayan has given sound opinions about different aspects of education.

Aims, curriculum and methods, etc. Like has views about aims and curriculum his views about methods, too, appear to be modernistic and noteworthy.

Nineteenth and Twentieth centuries saw radical transformations of education. During this period various new schemes and patterns of education came into existence. Educationists made researches and planned ways and means of educating children in Psychological and scientific manners.

Jayaprakash Narayan thought that methods of education employed should aim at creating a type of educational environment for the boys and girls in which it may become possible for them to experience and live the life of the community. The school life must be organised on the lives of the community life, so that the gulf between the school and the community, between the rural and the urban and between the reality and expectations is bridged.

He favoured alongwith verbal discourses, the adoption and use of such methods and devices as assignment, laboratories, Assemblies, and Conferences etc. He put great emphasis on teaching through productive work and social service - Sharm Dan - for, in his views, it was absolutely necessary for the proper training of the head, heart and hand of the pupil, on

the one hand, and the rapid rural regeneration of the country on the other.

(D) Discipline:-

Disciplines means the training of mind and formation of character - through the sublimation of instincts, inculcation of right values and development of right habits and attitudes. Jayaprakash Narayan believed that only a disciplined mind can freely make choices in life which he must.

In his own words:- "I should like to speak of a choice that everyone of you will have to make in your life, irrespective of your particular discipline and degree<sup>3</sup>.

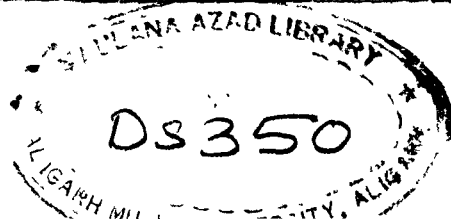
He opened that every academic discipline has a sort of internal discipline of its own and, therefore, helps in disciplining the mind and heart of the learner. He says:- "the disciplines which you have learnt here, have their own strict internal morality. No science, physical or social can grow if it does not adhere to strict truth and refined ways of testing the truth. But when that discipline is externalised the internal morality breaks down. In that sense science becomes a moral to be utilised both for moral and immoral purposes<sup>4</sup>.

In Jayaprakash Narayan's opinion the problem of student unrest or student indiscipline is not an isolated one but it is of a much larger and deeper nature. The atmosphere in our universities and colleges is dulling to the spirit. It

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3. Ibid. P. 33

4. Ibid. P. 35





dampens the desire and spirit for free enquiry for proper understanding of the issues involved and for a meaningful and purposive participation in the academic life of the campus and the social life of the community. It rather serves as a market place where racipes are sold for the sole purpose of passing examinations. The campus life, thus, defeats the very purpose of education.

In Jayaprakash Narayan's own words:- "The student community has been given no ideal which can lift them from the mud of parochialism, casteism and provincialism and which can provide them with a channel for self expression and adventure in living"<sup>5</sup>.

Thus, in sum, Jayaprakash Narayan's view of education - its aims, subject matter, method, etc. - is reminiscent of the Gandhian view of education. It is surcharged and saturated with the same moralist zeal and fervour for the social reconstruction of the country, especially of its rural areas which characterized Gandhiji's system of basic education. Jayaprakash's marxism ultimately found a final blending into Gandhianism - in all its aspects, including education. His revolutionary, violent, Marxism came to terms with the evolutionary, non - violent, Gandhism of our own. Jayaprakash Narayan, thus, represented a happy blending of the Marxian methods and the Gandhian values, though in the final phases of his life the moralist in him came to dominate, more and more, the revolutionary in him. Education therefore, remained for him as much a device for spiritual regeneration as a device for material progress.

Jayaprakash Narayan's observations on Education in India:-

Jayaprakash Narayan felt quite dissatisfied with the system of education prevailing in India. He was convinced that such a system can not deliver the goods. He thought that time has come for introducing urgent reforms in education to make it capable of serving the needs of the students and the country. There was all - round dissatisfaction about it. The student fraternity itself had come to look upon education mostly as a passport to gainful employment. Teaching career was and still is at a discount. It is often that a bright young man chooses the teaching profession only when he has failed to get into more prestigious branches of govt. services. Politics also looks upon education not as a vital means to national development but merely as providing them with handles of power and opportunities for patronage.

Jayaprakash Narayan felt perturbed over this deliberate downgrading of education especially of the teaching profession. He made suggestions for improving the situation. His humble suggestion are based on the assumption that in every situation, no matter how depressing, there are found a few spirits in all sections of society who remain undismayed and are prepared to act. His appeal, first of all, is to the teaching community. It will not be seriously challenged that teachers are also responsible for the deplorable state of education. But inspite of the general fall in standards there are still many teachers who have a more

honourable concept of their profession.

There are various organisations of teachers but most of them, if not all, are in the nature of trade unions, or at best, function as pressure groups. These organisations, no doubt serve some purpose but they cannot be expected to retrieve education from its present state of deadness. Therefore, he humbly suggests to such teachers as have a more than materialistic concept of their profession and who are interested in the pursuit of knowledge and in sharing it with their pupil to join together in a new kind of teacher's organisations.

The second group to which he addresses his appeal is the community at large. He advises that a great deal of interest needs to be aroused in education among the general public including those of rural areas. He noticed that apart from the quantitative educational expansion, the community has evinced no further interest in education. The economic motivation behind education of course cannot and should not be eliminated. But unless the community felt that education must also serve other purposes, such as character and development of knowledge, national and social reconstruction, there can be no hope for improvement. The community involvement and participation in educational expansion and reform is, therefore, a must.

The third group to which he wants to appeal is the student community several observers have written about the so-called student revolt or unrest and there can be no doubt that it

is doing grave injury to students and also to the nation. Jayaprakash Narayan appeals to the more adventurous and courageous ones in the student community to seek other ways of self - expression and self-development, and not to make the educational institutions the objects of their surplus energy and enthusiasm. He asks them to be more responsive and responsible, as without it there can be no hope either for them as far the country which is still groaning under the after affects of colonial rule. He reminds them that during the freedom movement students had played a glorious part. They can play a more glorious part today for building a new India which is far more challenging and important a task than the winning of freedom from the alien rule.

His final is to politicians on whom rests a major part of the responsibility for the rapid regeneration of our society. He holds them responsible to a large extent for the lowering of our moral standards. Their fore power and apathy to national interests has brought havoc for the country and unless they change and bring themselves in tune with the Gandhian standards the process of accelerating deterioration can not be arrested and reversed.

The cumulative effect of our doings since Independence is that education has become practically miseducation. Unfortunately our universities even after so many years of freedom and inspite of there being so much work waiting to be done, appear to be very much isolated from the life of the community. Education seems to have failed the country and

the nation. Our politicians and leaders instead of clearing the mass left behind by the Britishers are adding more and more of their own to it. the dream of the Mahatma has soured. And Jayaprakash Narayan, the second Gandhi, has also gone out of the life of the nation as a disillusioned visionary. There is darkness, thick and stubborn. It is upto education, to teachers and students, now to squeeze some light from somewhere and produce a silver being. Well they do it?

#### CHAPTER - IV - Conclusions

The Study - has led to the following broad conclusions.

##### A. Socio-political philosophy and creed:

Jayaprakash Narayan began as a firebrand revolutionary, a Marxist, but ended as a true Gandhite, a social moralist. The principle that "The end justifies the means" could not hold him for long and ultimately became to embrace the Gandhian dictum that "a pure end needs a pure means", the nationalist in him made him ultimately to sever his relations with the Communist Party which had extra-territorial leanings. The moralist in him made him an unflinching and uncompromising crusader for moral and social causes. His selflessness was undeniable because he did not seek position for himself. It was hard luck for him that he could not become Gandhiji's successor in his life, though he was cast in the Gandhian mould more than some of his towering contemporaries.

It is tragic enough that his years of jail and his months of torture did not win for him the reason lies, perhaps, in the fact that, unlike Nehru and Patel, he could not become a confidant of Mahatma Gandhi and had to plough his own lonely furrow. He was man of firm beliefs and strong convictions. Even in the face of great odds his dedication to his moral ideals never faltered and he never compromised with the dishonest or the shoddy. He strived

throughout his life for the upliftment of the poorest and the downtrodden. the Sarvodaya movement of Vinoba Bhave with which he associated and identified himself, came as a new social awakening which had great promises for the suffering multitude in the rural areas. The landless labourers found in him a social Masiha for their age-old ailments - deprivation, degradation, dehumanisation, etc.

He was social idealist and visionary, a great optimist. Hope never died in him, difficulties and challenges could never deter him. Despite a lifetime of witnessing men's capacity for violence and cruelty, selfishness and corruption. Jayaprakash had retained an emotional faith in man's capacity to achieve goodness and truth which transcended all rational reflection.

He was not a mere visionary and sentimentalist. The rationalist and humanist in him made him to transcend all gaze on higher horizons. He transformed the religious narrowness of Vinoba Bhave's Sarvodaya movement into a twentieth century humanism.

In the last phase of his life he had virtually taken upon himself the role of the gadfly and the conscience - keeper of the country. But unfortunately, he had become by then too - towering to be within the reach of the understanding and emulation of the pigmies around him. His stately stature had become practically a weakness of his mission, as he had become a very misunderstood national figure.

He was convinced that people could be persuaded to serve the community and the poor, even at great sacrifice of wealth and status. He believed that all men have capacity for emotional involvement with others. Relying on the basic human goodness, he told his countrymen the harsh and unpalatable truths about human sufferings to secure the individual and cure the society. No amount of opposition or failure dampened his spirit or dimmed his faith. His optimism, youthfulness, bubbling enthusiasm, belied his years. His uprightness was not only moral but physical also.

He always felt greatly attracted and attached to the young men and found pleasure in their fresh originality, in the vigour of their idealism, in the impatience of their radicalism. His mind was always open to new ideas, social theories and movements and the dissenting and protesting voices always poured music in his democratic ears.

During the whole course of his life he had possessed great magnetism for both men and women, treating them equally with courtesy and sympathy. Although he never consciously sought it, he involved his followers in an affection for him that was almost idolatrous.

His social ideas were the central drive of his life and the fabric of his being. Once in pursuit of a cause, his cast of mind was inflexible. He gave unselfish personal loyalty to Gandhi, Jawahar Lal Nehru and Vinoba Bhave. Materially he had passed a life of Austerity, self-denial



and self - sacrifice. By the nobility of his strivings he gave humanity a hope and a direction for the future. As one of the greatest humanists and a hope and a direction for the future. As one of the greatest humanists and pacifists of our time he has blazed a trail which few, if any, would dare to tread on.

#### B. Educational Ideas of Jayaprakash Narayan

Jayaprakash Narayan was not an educationist in the narrow, technical, sense of the term. And yet he has made observations on the Indian educational system of his times, which clearly show how much concerned he felt about it, and how urgently and thoroughly reformed he wanted it to be.

(a) Aims and Objectives of Education: Like Gandhiji, Jayaprakash Narayan also wanted education to develop the human personality in all its respects - physical, mental, social, emotional and spiritual. He wished education to become a potent instrument for the material and spiritual advancement of the society. To him mere material progress was not to be the end of education. For moral and spiritual poverty was to him, no less crippling and degrading than the material poverty. In order, therefore, to be true, education was perforce of necessity to remove the material and moral impoverishments and to enrich the individual and the society in both these respects.

Jayaprakash Narayan wanted education to take up the task of rural reconstruction in real earnest. His sympathies

were always for the ignorant, poor, exploited, millions living in the far-flung rural areas of the country. He wished the light of education reach the dark recesses of their minds and hearts. The Sarvodaya Movement launched by him was an educational movement as well. He also wanted education to fight against superstitious and all kinds of prejudices. He believed the future of democracy in India would be bleak if education does not produce enough man and woman with discerning minds, loving and compassioning hearts, and working and producing hands.

(b) Curriculum:

Jayaprakash Narayan favoured inclusion of all those subjects, activities and experiences in the curriculum which could train the head, heart, and the hands properly. Any and every subject of study was welcome to him in the curriculum which could make the youngmen and women more human and humane. Thus, sciences, social sciences, and humane. Thus, sciences, social sciences, and humanities could all be these, with some productive and social work as part of training of the hands thrown in.

(c) Methods: Being a democrat to the core, Jayaprakash Narayan wanted democracy to prevail in the classroom. He was averse to all dictatorial methods and tendencies which make education and the Campus - life more an unescapable ordeal than an invigorating experience.

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